SOCIAL SCIENCES

PUBLIC LIBRARY
APR 9 1957
DETROIT

NATIONAL REVIEW

20 Cents

April 13, 1957

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

Mid-European Buffer Zone: A Soviet Trap

MAJ. GEN. CHARLES A. WILLOUGHBY

Seven Keys to Anomie

ALOISE HEATH

Self-Portrait in Oil

AN EDITORIAL

Articles and Reviews by · · · · · · RICHARD M. WEAVER

WILLMOORE KENDALL · F. R. BUCKLEY · REVILO OLIVER

L. BRENT BOZELL · RUSSELL KIRK · FRANK S. MEYER

For the Record

The Philippines will not recognize Red China even if the United States does, says the Philippines' Acting Secretary of State.... Political observers believe the spreading revolt in Indonesia will lead to the assumption of near dictatorial powers by President Sukarno, who has in the past indicated his distrust of existing Indonesian political parties.

A rash of articles in the Polish press urging industrial workers not to strike but to seek redress in other ways gives substance to persistent rumors that there have been new strikes in Poznan, Wroclaw and Bydgoczcz in recent weeks.... Poland, which is seeking financial assistance from the United States, has promised Communist North Vietnam a "considerable sum of money" to finance its industry, Radio Hanoi reports.

The Italian and French Communist parties now admit last year's de-Stalinization drive and the Hungarian revolt cost them 270,000 and 70,000 members, respectively. The French CP has taken a drubbing in recent local elections, but the Italian Reds seemed to be making a comeback at the end of March in municipal elections in Rimini, Cremona and Lecco.... It's reliably reported that the organizers of the Brussels World Fair of 1958 would like to find some excuse to exclude the Soviet Union.

Marshal Konev has told the Kremlin that the Soviet Union can no longer rely on the satellite armies. He said the Hungarian army had been totally destroyed and that in the event of war up to 60 per cent of the Polish army might desert. On his recommendation, steps have been taken to disarm native Bulgarian and Rumanian troops.... In Budapest, Soviet tanks are called "Kadar-taxis" since the Russian-imposed Premier was afraid to ride in anything less than a tank during the revolt.

The British press is beginning to deal with President Eisenhower as a has-been. The right-wing Daily Express recently ran a dispatch from its Washington correspondent beginning "I write this article with heavy heart. For I have to report the gradual fading out of a man loved and respected by millions throughout the world -- Dwight Eisenhower.... Suddenly, unimaginably, the picture has changed. The legend is becoming blurred. The hero is proved fallible. Grumbles are replacing the cheers."

NATIONAL REVIEW

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

EDITOR and PUBLISHER: Wm. F. Buckley, Jr.

EDITORS

L. Brent Bozell — James Burnham
John Chamberlain — Willmoore Kendall
Suzanne La Follette — William S. Schlamm

PRODUCTION EDITOR: Mabel Wood

WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT: Sam M. Jones

ASSOCIATES

Priscilla L. Buckley — Frank S. Meyer
Jonathan Mitchell — Morrie Ryskind

CONTRIBUTORS

C. D. Batchelor, John C. Caldwell, Frank Chodorov, John Abbot Clark, Forrest Davis, A. Derso, Max Eastman, Medford Evans, Karl Hess, John D. Kreuttner, J. B. Matthews, Gerhart Niemeyer, Revilo Oliver, E. Merrill Root, Freda Utley, Richard M. Weaver, Gen. Charles A. Willoughby

FOREIGN CONTRIBUTORS

London: Anthony Lejeune
Geneva: Wilhelm Roepke — *Madrid*: J. Dervin
Munich: E. v. Kuehnelt-Leddihn

BUSINESS MANAGER: Theodore A. Driscoll

ASSISTANT TO THE PUBLISHER: J. P. McFadden

CONTENTS APRIL 13, 1957 VOL. III, NO. 15

THE WEEK 343

ARTICLES

Mid-European Buffer Zone: A Soviet Trap
Charles A. Willoughby 350
Seven Keys to Anomie .....Aloise Heath 355

DEPARTMENTS

For the Record 342
National Trends .....L. Brent Bozell 348
The Liberal Line ..... Willmoore Kendall 349
Letter from the Continent
E. v. Kuehnelt-Leddihn 354
From the Academy .....Russell Kirk 357
To the Editor 361

BOOKS IN REVIEW

The Western Star .....Richard M. Weaver 358
The Great Dawson .....Frank S. Meyer 359
A Master .....Revilo Oliver 359
Work of Art .....F. R. Buckley 360
Puzzle of Defeat .....Montgomery M. Green 360

NATIONAL REVIEW is published weekly, except second and third weeks in August, at Orange, Conn., by National Weekly, Inc. Copyrighted 1957 in the U.S.A. by National Weekly, Inc. Second-class mail privileges authorized at Orange, Conn.

EDITORIAL AND SUBSCRIPTION OFFICES:
211 East 37th St.
New York 16, N. Y.
Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-0941

RATES, Twenty cents a copy, $7.00 a year, $13.00 for two years. Foreign, $9.00 a year; Canada, $8.00 a year.

The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage, or better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

The WEEK

●Senator William F. Knowland, continuing the gradual separation of his political position from that of the President, has called for an immediate cut in foreign aid and a turnback to private investment instead of government grant as the basis for foreign economic relations. "We cannot buy international friendship any more than personal friendship," Mr. Knowland declared in a recent speech; "nor should we attempt to remake the world in our economic or political image. It is neither in their interest nor ours for nations abroad to be permanently dependent upon American financial grants. It is time for them to start living within their means and for us to do likewise."

● The agreement of the Eisenhower-Macmillan Bermuda meeting to equip Britain—and presumably other West European countries in normal consequence—with nuclear-armed American missiles has provoked a blustering Soviet response. Premier Bulganin has dispatched letters to the Norwegian and Danish Premiers, threatening the two Scandinavian nations with the direst consequences if they permit atomic weapons to be located on their soil. This typical Communist effort at blackmail exhibits pleasing signs of panic at the military potential of the Anglo-American decision.

● In his talk to the Advertising Council Mr. Eisenhower said it was time to get a "new definition" of "Lincoln's old exhortation that government should do for people what they cannot well do for themselves or not at all." Okay, Mr. President. But before getting down to that "new definition," let's ask a few questions. Is it really true that civilian gun clubs need government support to get them out on the rifle range Sunday morning? Is it really true that Henry Ford II and John Hay Whitney need social security? Is it really true that we require the solicitude of our Congressman when he mails us those government pamphlets about tasty kitchen recipes or the way to pin the baby's diaper? Is it really true that the educational problem can be solved by using federal money to build schools? Is it really true that the grain grown on the late Colonel Robert R. McCormick's farm at Wheaton, Illinois, needs price supports? Is it really true—but we could go on asking questions from now to doomsday without getting any answer from a President who apparently thinks all Americans are helpless.

● We have just learned of a bold academic project that refutes all NATIONAL REVIEW's established opinions about the conformism and laziness of contemporary campus life. At Stanford University's Hoover Library on War, Peace and Revolution, a valiant (and sizable) band of intrepid scholars, heavily heeled with government and foundation grants, is plunging into the intellectual unknown. Inscribed on their shining banner is (as headlined in the *New York Times*) their daring thesis: "Pacts With Soviet Held Dangerous"! Well, what do you know? Some day an economics professor in a university may discover that the fifties in America are not the thirties, or that Keynesian policies to combat deflation are as necessary as a hole in the head in an era of super full employment. And some day a university president may discover that the current tax laws keep college endowments from growing.

● We have attempted to take Edward R. Murrow very seriously indeed from the moment a full-page advertisement for a new magazine announced that it would furnish its readers with the "Wisdom of the ages—from Plato to Edward R. Murrow." We confess to having had our difficulties in our campaign to appreciate Mr. Murrow. We plan to redouble our efforts now that we see that the Educational Department of Columbia Records has released, along with records describing the signing of the Magna Charta, the battle of Gettysburg, and the rehearsal of a Mozart opera, a set of Edward R. Murrow's "I Can Hear It Now" discs.

● Relations between the State Department and the Court of the Southern District of New York are showing a serious strain. Federal Judge Archie O. Dawson has ruled (*In Re Toon*) that Mr. Toon may not be denied citizenship for having belonged in 1949 to a laundry trade union run by pro-Communists. Judge Dawson's persuasive grounds: that the law should not expect a Chinese laundryman to be brighter than the State Department, which at the same time Mr. Toon was bamboozled, was "equally ignorant of the nature and objectives of the Red leaders in China . . . and actually afforded them military aid."

● From Cairo come reports of a spate of quite ponderable Soviet aid to Nasser's government as it flounders about in economic distress. Wheat (to be paid for in Egyptian pounds), armaments (plus the technicians needed to assemble them), and a number of cultural imports (such as a Moscow folk-dancing troupe) are some of the items received. In commenting on the increased dependence of Egypt on Soviet help, Osgood Caruthers, the *New York Times* correspondent in Cairo, propounds a modern riddle of the Sphinx. On the one hand Mr. Caruthers thinks Nasser's reliance on the Russians is something for Mr. Dulles to worry about. On the other hand he

discerns evidence that Soviet largesse to Egypt is frightening other Arab lands into closer ties with the West. This puts the whole business on a seesaw, and until the thing comes to rest maybe the best thing the U.S. can do is to sit tight. When the Sphinx ain't talking, why act?

● The President had better call off his press conferences or else make arrangements to prohibit questions about helicopters and other matters that cause him to fly off the handle. He might recall the classic complaint of John Hunter, an eighteenth-century physician plagued with circulatory troubles: "My life is in the hands of any rascal who chooses to provoke me."

● Poet Karl Shapiro has accused the younger generation of "apathy" and "intellectual cowardice." "Twenty years ago," he says, young people would have "volunteered to go to Hungary and fight." Well, it's true that the response of present-day college students to the Hungarian revolution was tepid. But poet Shapiro has his history twisted. Twenty years ago no young intellectual would have gone anywhere to fight Communism. In refraining from enthusiasm for the Hungarian freedom-fighters, the younger generation of 1956 was merely continuing in the cowardly footsteps of its fathers. The cause of freedom was betrayed long ago.

● About twenty million Chinese live in the closely knit "overseas" communities that have been settled in Malaysia, Indonesia, San Francisco, New York and others of the world's great seaports. In 1953, only forty "overseas Chinese" students were studying in Taiwan's high schools and universities. Today there are over 4,500—a more than hundred-fold increase. For the first time, there are more overseas students in Taiwan than in all of Red China.

● When you write your Congressman in protest of the President's budget, you might tell him that you are just as much opposed to Congressional as to Presidential profligacy. For the Congress is about to appropriate $1.1 billion of your money for what are officially termed "public works" projects, but which are more aptly called "pork barrel" bills. The purpose of these bills is to win favor for the Congressmen in their respective bailiwicks. They are vote-buying legislation, pure and simple. The hundred or so projects under consideration will be so distributed among the states that the legislators can point out in their coming campaigns how they have "brought home the bacon." And these Congressional authorizations for expenditures provide the President with a means of bringing Congressmen to toe: if they want their "pork" they had better vote for his budget.

● Time was when John Dewey's "instrumentalism" was all the rage in Young China. Well, the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat seemed like good "instruments" to Mao Tse-tung, and everybody knows what happened when those blunt tools came into pragmatic contact with non-Deweyite Chinese heads. Now, it appears, the Japanese are about to form a John Dewey Society for the propagation of America's most "representative" metaphysics. A Professor Fisabru Hiroike deplores the current Japanese reliance on German philosophy and thinks it time for a change. All we can say to Professor Hiroike is that a lot depends on what "instrument" you pick up, and what you pick it up for. The atom bomb was a good instrument to blow Hiroshima off the map. The problem of the use of instruments involves value questions—and on such questions "Deweyism" is normally as silent as the tomb.

● The first issue of *The Individualist*, an occasional publication of the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, is sprightly and relevant, and features a penetrating analysis of the appearance at Princeton of Alger Hiss and Willard Edwards, by M. Stanton Evans (publications director of the ISI). There are reports on brushes with Liberalism at the University of Texas (by Ken Eliot); Queens College (by Richard Whalen, founder of the Robert A. Taft Club which, last year, so sorely aggrieved the Liberals at Queens by presuming to exist); Del Mar College (by David Franke); and the University of Wisconsin (by Alan McCone). *The Individualist* solicits items from college students 100-250 words in length "covering one of the following subjects: general campus political conditions; conservative activities on campus; significant political debates; progress of ISI chapters, textbook and lecture material." Send manuscripts to Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, 407 Lafayette Building, Philadelphia 6, Pa.

● The junior Senator from Oregon has nominated the senior Senator from Oregon for President. The movement originated in the pages of the *Progressive* magazine. God being in His heaven, we can count upon the movement ending in the pages of the *Progressive* magazine.

● Professor Arthur Bestor has done a fine job of exposing the inadequacies and absurdities of progressive education, and for this we are grateful and respectful. But not so respectful as to go along with him when he gets to prescribing political remedies. Now he is suggesting (see the *New Republic*) that the federal government step in to correct the deficiencies of local educational programs. If his

proposal were adopted, Professor Bestor would soon discover that federal educationists would commit (and be more successful in enforcing) ten imbecilities for every one of the local imbecilities he now bemoans. What would he suggest in that event? That the job be turned over to the UN?

Not Born Yesterday

NATIONAL REVIEW continues to have all the wrong reactions to the current exposé of labor racketeering: *relief* at Dave Beck's contenting himself with a two hundred thousand dollar house; *astonishment* at Jimmie Hoffa's being arrested for something so genteel as attempting to bribe a staff-member of the McClellan Committee; and, in the matter of the conspiracy to take over "gambling, vice, and municipal government" in Portland, the disposition to ask, *"In that order?"* and *"Why only in Portland?"* NATIONAL REVIEW, in a word, did not need the revelations of the McClellan Committee to know something of the temptations that surround the leaders of Big Labor, and to know that some of those leaders succumb to those temptations. We did not need the Committee to learn that the competition for position in the labor movement places no premium upon saintliness. The real issues, we repeat, have to do with the power that vests in the unions themselves, and with the collective bargaining practices that generate that power as a matter of course. The issues do not have to do with Dave Beck's riotous living, or even with Walter Reuther's scheming for socialism, but with the fact that *any* man should be in a position to add the chits for his personal whims, material or political, to the nation's bill for goods and services.

If, however, others can be brought around to our way of thinking by the Committee's findings, let us be duly grateful—and make the most of it. The following lines from the *New York Times* indicate what it is an enlightened public should do: "Labor's greatest concern," a reporter writes, "is that the inquiry will generate nationwide anti-labor sentiment and lead to . . . restrictive as well as remedial legislation. . . . *The labor leaders fear especially an extension of the 'right-to-work' movement.*"

Never Mind About Us

The Brookings Institution has now added *its* two-bits'-worth to the current flood of pro-foreign-aid "reports" from scrupulously impartial "primate" research groups. (They come, you will notice, one at a time—like the cleaver-blows of the executioner who cut his victim's hand off a finger at a time, so it would hurt less; and the fact that they were all invited—and many of them financed—by a special Senate committee chaired by Senator Green, always comes to light in the fourth or fifth paragraph of the news-story.)

This one says what the others say, but says it worse. The foreign aid program is being endangered by the "political and economic strings" attached by Congress. Those strings reduce "flexibility of action." They take a "heavy toll of time and manpower." Over against the challenge of the Soviet foreign assistance program, ours must often "move quickly . . . and adapt to rapidly changing situations abroad." It must, therefore, be "placed on a more long-term basis," and freed from the burden of "supplementary policy objectives that limit what can be done and the way it can be done"—to keep it, among other things, from being "incomprehensible" and "repugnant" to the recipients. It does not much matter if it is incomprehensible and repugnant to the American people. We, after all, have *been* freed.

Self-Portrait in Oil

The Liberal press has been having a Roman holiday over the Senate's refusal to amend the mineral depletion allowance law which permits oil and gas producers to deduct 27½ per cent from their taxable income. Because the most conspicuous oil men are conspicuously wealthy (oil men who go broke do not normally attain a public identity), and because the returns on a fabulous oil strike are fabulous, the oil industry is a natural target of professional critics of business success. And if a successful business benefits from special legislation which can be made to appear as favoritist, a muckraking spree is almost certainly in the offing.

On top of it all, the circumstances last week fairly wept for the drawing of poignant comparisons —which, dutifully, Liberal commentators drew. For at the same moment, in the same Senate Office Building where Dave Beck was being asked in a dramatic hearing to detail the usufructs of heading up the largest union in the United States, presidents of oil and gas companies were, in an undramatic hearing, being asked to defend the depletion allowance. One can imagine the juice the Liberal press got out of the coincidence! Doris Fleeson had two goes at it, as did Thomas Stokes. The editorial writers of the *New York Post* and other Liberal dailies went on and on about it; Herblock, of course, was there with his bloated, oily oil man ordering the Senate around; if the hearing had lasted another week, Arthur Miller and Elia Kazan would surely have opened a Broadway play dramatizing the vic-

timization of the people by the demons of black gold.

Typical of the treatments was that of the *New Republic's* "T.R.B." who just *"couldn't help wondering if all the juicy items at the Teamsters performance—bawdy house madams, call girls and labor racketeering—remotely touched in importance the unreported* [except by every other Liberal commentator in the United States every other day] *story of what the sleek, well-spoken, ultra-correct roster of oil company presidents were saying in the almost deserted petroleum show."*

T.R.B. picked up dramatic momentum . . . *"These oil company officials are men of power. You could sense it: they said 'billion' as casually as somebody mentioning a luncheon tip* [i.e., to oil company officials 71 luncheon tips equals the national budget]. *Who are the racketeers? Talk about teamsters' rackets! This tax dodge makes poor old Dave Beck look like a piker."* Poor old Dave Beck was, of course, a diversionary plant of the oil interests. Skeptical? *"Where were the television cameras, and the lights and the newsmen at the two hearings last week?—why, at the Teamsters' show, of course. That's what the public mostly hears about—Beck, not Rathbone"* —the graft and corruption of the president of the Teamsters Union, not the graft and corruption of the president of Standard Oil of New Jersey.

Those who continue to doubt the intellectual and moral bankruptcy of representative members of the Liberal press should have a look at the treatment of the depletion tax issue by T.R.B. and others. It is, beginning to end, demagogy—naked, hypocritical, irresponsible. Not one of the accounts we have seen of the Senate hearing explored a single relevant question—whether the depletion allowance realistically reflects the distinctive hazards of the oil and gas exploration business, whether the rate of return on the dollar invested in the petroleum business is higher or lower than returns per dollar in other businesses; whether the incidence of dry holes has increased or decreased since (under Roosevelt) the 27½ figure was set; whether other industries receive special tax treatment due to special circumstances, e.g., the exaggerated depreciation rate on commercial airliners; or whether the interests of the national security require, as in uranium, a more aggressive search for oil than would ensue upon the imposition on the industry of the regular corporation tax.

We are not here defending the present depletion rate. It may be too high. It may be too low. It may be just about right. We are saying only that the issue is not at all illuminated by the kind of attention given to it by the ideologues of the Left—who have easy access to the figures on the basis of which a serious discussion of the depletion rate could be conducted. The fact is, they do not want a serious discussion of it.

When will Liberal intellectuals rise up against *their* Dave Becks?

Freedom Also Works

On the last day of March the larger newspapers carried, on different pages, two small news items much too dull to rate more than a glance from a hurried reader. One reported a set of statistics, just released, which showed that last autumn the labor force producing "services" in the United States, for the first time in the history of this or any other nation, exceeded in numbers the labor force producing "goods." The second item, from Moscow, told about a vast new "turn" in the Soviet economy, proposed by Khrushchev, whereby control of industry through the unitary "Plan" would be decentralized.

These two thin facts when put together can, as when two wires are joined to complete an electric circuit, bring much light. For their combined meaning is irrefutably this: that in material terms our predominantly capitalist economy has to an almost incredible degree succeeded, while the Communist economy has dismally failed. The organization of our economy, technical and structural, is such that fewer than half of our working population can supply not only all of the material goods that we need, but an ever-increasing surplus of material luxuries. The Communist economy—although about nine-tenths of its labor force is engaged in producing goods—has so palpably failed to provide even

"Our choice, comrades, is crystal clear—either re-de-Stalinization or de-re-Stalinization."

the minimum quantity of material necessaries that the Kremlin must now try to alter the whole economic basis of the monolithic Communist state.

In its new attempt, it may be added, the Kremlin will once more fail. It cannot decentralize the economy without decentralizing, to some degree at least, the monolithic and centralized political control. But it cannot decentralize political control without destroying its own power and abandoning Communism.

Stalin was fond of repeating the aphorism, "You can't make an omelet without breaking eggs." But Communism, though it has broken many millions of eggs, fails to turn out the omelets. As an economic system, as a method for producing the goods that men need or want, collectivism just doesn't deliver.

This is not the only argument or the major argument against Communism, nor are its triumphs in material production a sufficient proof of the superiority of capitalism. Communism, with its negation of all values human and divine, would be evil *even* if it were economically successful. Still, it is surely worth noting that the record confirms theory in refuting the economic argument that is the last and favorite refuge of the Communist apologists. It seems that freedom, supremely valuable for its own sake, also works.

You Pays Your Money . . .

"Daddy, can I have a nickel for a Hershey bar?"

"No, Johnny, the Institute of Life Insurance says if each of us will save an extra nickel out of every dollar we earn, it will be a strong brake on inflation."

"But, Daddy, I read a letter in the *Times* by Sumner Schlicter saying that saving a nickel out of every dollar earned would cut total consumption expenditures by 5.4 per cent. How would you like it if your business was cut by that much?"

"So what, child? The money saved would be put into new factories, new homes and new schools."

"No, Daddy. Sumner Schlicter says that if consumption drops, there will be unemployment. That would mean postponing the building of factories, homes and schools."

"Humph, who is this Sumner Schlicter, child?"

"Why, Daddy, don't you know? He's a professor of economics at Harvard."

"Well, child, that *is* something. The only thing I can't figure out is how did the Hershey bar factory get built in the first place? *Someone* must have saved those nickels."

"Daddy, maybe you better keep the nickel. Sumner Schlicter doesn't have anything to say about that."

Joyce Carey

We would not be caught co-opting a man so essentially unpolitical as Joyce Carey for our cause, especially not in an obituary notice. But we think it proper to note that in his writings he revealed, as few of his contemporaries have, the kind of understanding of the infinitely individualized human being that made him a creative literary ally of those of us whose view of society issues from, and is subordinate to, a view of man. In *Mister Johnson*, Mr. Carey wrote of a confrontation that is a commonplace today: the convergence of two civilizations—two cultures, two races, two political traditions—and of those who, like Mister Johnson, break their backs upon the event. Mister Johnson, the gay, irresponsible, idealistic, primitive Negro bureaucrat in the service of His Majesty's Post Office in Africa, ends his young life on the gibbet. Was the tragedy the fault of the British colonial system? Of Negro inferiority? Of an Oedipus complex? Joyce Carey had far too keen a mind, far too large a heart, to dispose in such ways of so serious a problem as the end of Mister Johnson. He knew too much to be so simple; not only when he wrote about a native attempting to do another culture's clerical work, but always—whether he wrote about a Piccadilly tart, a timid schoolgirl, a modish poet, a zealous politician. Joyce Carey, the man who understood, and the artist who portrayed, the person, could not have understood the components of ideology—lower classes, iron laws of wages, sciences of macroeconomics. He only understood, and labored in behalf of a wider understanding of, the individual.

Our contributors: MAJOR GENERAL CHARLES A. WILLOUGHBY ("Mid-European Buffer Zone: A Soviet Trap"), was General MacArthur's Chief of Intelligence throughout World War Two and the Korean action. He returned to this country with MacArthur, retired shortly thereafter, and wrote *MacArthur, 1941-1951*. Our readers will remember his "Fireside Propaganda" (April 11, 1956) . . . It was only after ALOISE HEATH ("Seven Keys to Anomie") sold a couple of stories to the *Ladies' Home Journal* nine years ago that she realized she hated writing. Admittedly weak-willed by nature, she proceeded to give birth to seven more children (she already had one) in the following nine years to convince the *Journal* editors she was too busy to write for them. Her writing career was resumed eighteen months ago ("I Raised Money for the Ivy League," "Fear and Owen Lattimore," "A Month with the Slicks") only because she proved more weak-willed than her younger brother, Wm. F. Buckley, Jr.

NATIONAL TRENDS

L. BRENT BOZELL

Challenge to Government Foreign Aid

The Senate, last summer, set up a Special Committee with instructions to undertake a thoroughgoing study of U.S. spending policies abroad. The idea was to give Congress something to go on when it was confronted, as it knew it would be this year, with a renewed Administration request for a massive long-term economic aid program. The Special Committee thereupon farmed out to private research institutions a series of "study projects," eleven in all; Project No. 4, a study of the role of American private enterprise in the foreign aid program, was assigned to the American Enterprise Association.

Last week, the AEA's director of research, W. Glenn Campbell, appeared before the Committee to present his group's report. Not a word of Dr. Campbell's testimony was reported by the daily press, which was curious since the AEA had eschewed the familiar, perfunctory observations about the desirability of private investment as a supplement to government aid—and had found something really quite different to say about the whole subject of foreign aid. "The thesis of our report," Dr. Campbell advised, "is two-fold; that, dollar for dollar, private foreign investment stimulates more economic growth than foreign aid; and that *primarily* reliance on private enterprise rather than government-to-government aid is more likely to produce an efficient and sustained rise in the welfare of underdeveloped countries as well as good political relations with the U.S." The AEA's conclusion was startling enough; but even more so its rationale — a bold, comprehensive, closely reasoned challenge to the basic premises of large-scale government aid.

A portion of the AEA's report was, in effect, an answer to the argument of the International Development Advisory Board headed by Mr. Eric Johnston. When President Truman's Point Four program was inaugurated in 1949, the Johnston Report had argued, "we believed that the missing component [in the economies of backward countries] was solely the lag in technical knowledge . . . Experience has shown that this is not the case. To achieve a satisfactory rate of development, the underdeveloped countries require more capital than they have been able to raise externally or than they can raise locally through normal processes." How much more? "This question," the Johnston group blandly observed, "cannot be answered categorically . . . One thing is clear, however: neither the current rates of economic growth nor the growth of capital are satisfactory."

But by what reasoning, the AEA wanted to know, is *that* clear? How is "satisfactory growth" of underdeveloped areas to be measured? Certainly not by the rate of growth of the U.S. or other developed economies. Apparently not by the ability of underdeveloped areas to withstand Communist blandishments, since none have gone Communist since 1949. In point of fact, the AEA insisted, the determination is based on some patently socialist assumptions. To say that the rate of growth is unsatisfactory "postulates additional resources which the population is not prepared to make available voluntarily, either by loans or by gifts . . . Therefore, they must be taxed for the purposes—*i.e.*, compelled to make available the resources. But this does not yield sufficient investment, and additional resources have to be supplied from abroad. But again, foreign individuals cannot be induced either to lend or to give voluntarily." Therefore resources must be commandeered by foreign taxation of balky investors.

What it all comes down to is that "the only test of adequacy of the rate of growth is the opinion of the [person judging what is 'satisfactory' and this opinion] may be quite unrelated to the wishes of the population . . . as is clear from their reluctance to make the resources available by voluntary savings."

Well, then, since we are in the area of social and political judgments, rather than economic ones, where is the evidence that rapid economic development of underdeveloped areas is in the best interests either of the areas themselves or of the U.S.? The proponents of massive economic aid assume, as self-evidently true, that the faster primitive African and Asian economies move toward twentieth-century standards, the better. The AEA has its doubts, and the argument is worth mentioning:

> A pronounced lack of correspondence between economic advance and social and political contentment is especially likely to emerge in periods of rapid social change accompanied by a disintegration of traditional communal life and its values. Such a situation is fraught with political danger . . . People's readiness to accept a totalitarian regime is particularly great when their traditional communities and loyalties have disintegrated rather rapidly, and they have not had a long enough time to evolve a satisfactory or satisfying existence as individuals with new purposes and directions. In these conditions individuals are likely to emerge who are quite ready to lead society in [the wrong] direction.

"The major source of discontent and unrest in many underdeveloped countries," the AEA went on, may not be "failure of peasants to obtain a Western standard of living," but rather the phenomenon of "remembered satisfactions of their ancestral

(*Continued on p. 353*)

Underdeveloped

I loved to help each backward land out
With a substantial U.S. handout
And bureaucratic missions!
But now I take a dimmer view;
My sense of largesse weakens, due
To income-tax conditions.

M.W.

The Liberal Line...

WILLMOORE KENDALL

Free Time on His Hands

Every religion apparently needs, along with its prophets and theologians, its exhorters and poets—and, for the vulgar, its sermonizers and poetasters. Their task it is to keep faith alive and spirits up without placing burdens either upon intellect or upon aesthetic sensibility; they traffic, therefore, in prettification of the religion's alleged truths and in metastatic formulae for gaining the religion's promised heaven without either abstinence or effort. They are the exaggerators, the architects of dream-worlds that come cheaper by the dozen; so that the harm they do tends to vary directly with the falseness of the prophecy and theology they caricature.

The contemporary religion of Technology, the only religion the Liberal propaganda machine is capable of professing, has been tardy in developing its sermonizers and belletrists. So the appearance on the horizon of a man capable of becoming the Billy Sunday of the religion of Technology is an event that this column cannot ignore.

Such a man is Mr. Paul F. Douglass of the District of Columbia Bar, who really did write the piece summarized below, and really did call it "Our New Golden Age: Values in an Industrial Society," and really did prevail upon the *American Bar Association Journal* to publish it.

The apostles of the new religion are Paul and James—Mr. Paul Hoffman and Mr. James B. Conant; and their common message is that nothing stands between us and heaven except a little matter of twenty-five years. Within that time, as Paul puts it, "we can practically abolish poverty and come close to creating conditions which will give every man, woman and child in America certainty of opportunity for growth and development." James is merely less specific and a little more cautious: America's unique contribution to history is to be "a demonstration that a certain type of society long dreamed of by idealists can be closely approached in reality."

His religion, Mr. Douglass makes clear, lacks neither a god to be glorified nor sacraments to be used as means of grace. Its god, creator both of "heavily industrialized society" and of the heaven to come, is "man's mind"; and the great witness to his accomplishments, according to James, is "scientific theory" or "theoretical science." (The "unseen but potent configuration of science," rhapsodizes Mr. Douglass, is "like the Parthenon of Greece and the cathedrals of the Middle Ages.") He is, in view of the "working partnership between modern science and modern industry," a mighty god, whom one does not lightly defy. And the sacraments of the true faith in him are four: "the nature of *science* itself": "the *mass-production* mechanism"; "the activity of a new quality of *professionally trained industrial leaders*"; and "*competition.*" These combine, our author declares, to make the system in which we live "dynamic, outreaching, and fruitful." And, as he warms to his subject, those cathedrals and the analogies they suggest with true religion, keep coming back to haunt him: "Probably the new General Motors Technical Center stands, in its simple functional utility, as the symbol of advanced technology quite as much as the Amiens Cathedral was representative of the older ordered Catholic society of Europe. . . . Taken together, the units constitute an industrial temple housing the creative activity of a potent contemporary trinity—the scientist in his laboratory, the engineer in his drafting room, and the industrialist in his factory."

Such are the workings of Mr. Douglass' sacraments, let us note, that they *have* to get us all to heaven: ". . . mass-producing industry presses for larger markets, increased output and lower costs. . . . Even as science and big industry in the throes of automation contain within themselves the inner drive to dynamic outreach, so the coming generation of industrial managers represents a new species. . . . It possesses a concern for efficient production, a competitive cost consciousness and a growing and scientifically oriented skill in human relationships . . . these men are so constituted that they are never content to accept what is, however good, as satisfactory . . . [And] the ethic of competition injects still another propelling factor . . . The combination . . . produces more things for more people in more places, of better quality and at lower prices—*at an accelerating tempo* . . . [All] contribute to man's development as an integrated personality in the pursuit of happiness made possible by the fruitfulness of heavily industrialized society."

Some of the above might seem to suggest that the new religion is materialistic; but this Mr. Douglass denies. Modern research, he insists, has begun to "identify a fundamentally spiritual factor which makes for industrial morale and efficient production. . . . [and] underlies the whole performance of efficient dollars, efficient machines, and efficient men . . . [This] spiritual factor is *respect for the worth of man* . . . Better men—better production." And then, as sort of an afterthought, this handsome concession to the views of antiquarians: ". . . 'a more efficient' labor factor and 'better production' *per se* are not wholly adequate reasons for respecting the worth of man . . . [But] such respect [does emerge] as a necessary condition of maximum efficiency. . . ."

The new religion's equivalent for conversion, it seems, is something called "leisure": ". . . heavily industrialized society . . . [contributes an] increasing quantity of leisure. . . . It is resulting in fuller satisfaction in family, community and religious life. It is encouraging the arts of self-expression and recovering satisfaction in craftsmanship. . . ."

And Mr. Douglass is ready with an explanation of why that is true: "The new leisure situation is providing man with free time."

Mid-European Buffer Zone: A Soviet Trap

The idea of a demilitarized zone in Central Europe, says General Willoughby, is neither new nor feasible. Such a zone would not deter Soviet military forces

CHARLES A. WILLOUGHBY

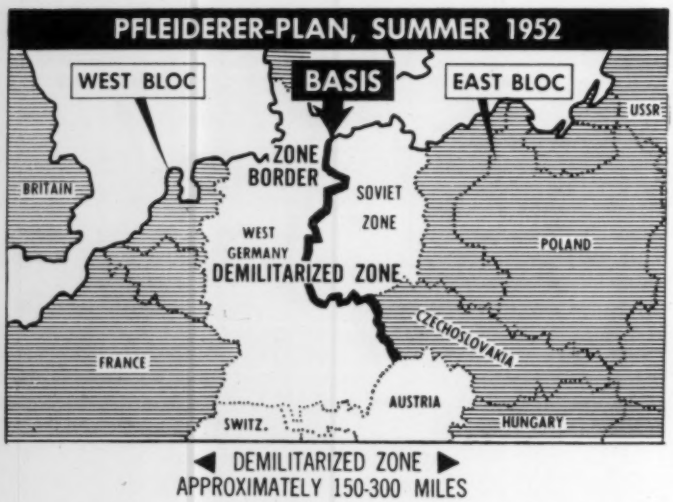
1. *The Soviet Objective: Neutralization of Germany.*

The European area—indeed the entire world—is split into two camps: the Communist group (Warsaw Pact) and its Western counterpart (NATO). These are the facts of life and the Russian has played the game, from strength to weakness. No amount of wishful thinking will eliminate a single Russian battalion. The miscellany of diplomatic maneuvers, démarches and conferences of the last decade are symptoms of furtive weakness, of fear and appeasement.

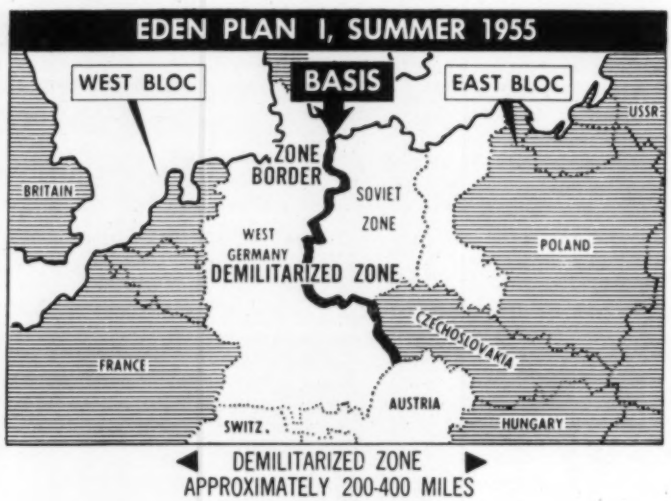
The discrepancy in *ready* military power between the East and West is enormous: NATO has progressively deteriorated to a showing of about 20-40 divisions while the USSR alone, without drawing on its satellites, can muster 175 divisions on call. To assume that the Hungarian rebellion has invalidated *all* satellite action is sheer speculation. The Communist hard core is still present: Gomulka and Tito are trained Communists and old operators in the cause of the Comintern, from China in the twenties to Spain in the thirties.

Currently we are observing another flurry of diplomatic action—a sort of variation in a minor key—on the theory that international tensions can be relaxed by reciprocal disarmament, ostensibly within a vaguely defined mid-European *corridor* or *buffer zone*. "*Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*": The West may have forgotten, but the proposals of 1956 are merely a repetition of the "*cordon sanitaire*" of 1920 which the ebullient victors at Versailles attempted to build around Bolshevik Russia.

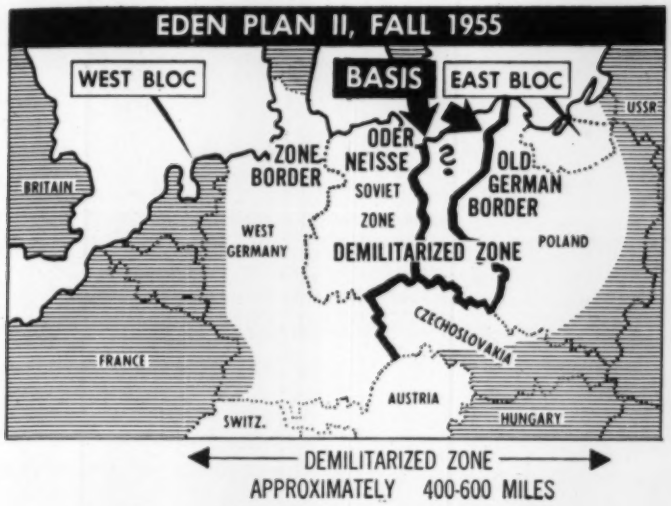
The Kremlin invariably picks up gems of Western thought and sometimes enlarges upon them with a pseudo-liberal nuance — especially when this does not cost it a single penny or soldier. The Russian variant, however, involves the neutralization of Germany, *i.e.*, Germany's withdrawal from NATO, as a prime requisite for any concessions. If the



Map No. 1: This plan—a trial balloon—pushed NATO establishments and formations across the Rhine. The German General Heusinger tried to correct this defect by a plan of his own (1953). Chancellor Adenauer supported Heusinger with the important proviso that the "basic line of departure" be the prewar German-Polish border.



Map No. 2: This plan enlarged the width of the "buffer zone" to between 200 and 400 miles. The military effect was modestly in favor of marching infantry but obviously negligible as regards modern aviation. Note that Eden accepted the present Soviet Zone boundary as the "basis," which was unacceptable to Adenauer.



Map No. 3: Eden revised his first plan substantially. He enlarged the width of the buffer zone and pushed the "basic line of departure" further to the East, either the controversial Oder-Neisse Line or the prewar German-Polish border. This position approached Chancellor Adenauer's, as of 1953.

Map No. 4: Bulganin's plan exceeded all previous proposals in a sweeping enlargement of the buffer zone. However, the "basis" was the present Soviet Zone boundary, as a political concession to Communist East Germany. Washington rejected this plan as an obvious "military trap" since it emasculated the NATO "shield" and pushed it too far to the West.

great military talent of Germany is emasculated, the eventual defeat of the West is forecast, in a process of political *osmosis*.

2. *Four Plans for a Buffer Zone: 1952-1956.*

Over the years, at least four proposals for a demilitarized zone have been made, *viz*:

i The Pfleiderer Plan of 1952. Map No. 1
ii The first Eden Plan; summer of 1955. Map No. 2
iii The second Eden Plan; fall of 1955. Map No. 3
iv The Bulganin Plan of 1956. Map No. 4

At first glance, these plans appear deceptively alike, which would normally afford a promising start for diplomatic action; however, there is a critical difference in *the line of departure* or basis and in the *width of the zone*. The Russian (Map 4) and Pfleiderer (Map 1) versions fix the line of departure along the Potsdam division between West and East Germany. Eden (Map 3) proposed the East boundary of Germany, after reunification, *i.e.*, the prewar German-Polish border. An element of confusion was injected in a trend to consider the present Oder-Neisse line. The width of the proposed zones, of course, became a factor of tactical importance; it varied from 150-300 miles, which was a concession to infantry but was rather pointless as regards jet-propelled aviation. Then Bulganin came up with something really startling: he enlarged the zone to 1,000 miles.

A Catch in Bulganin's Plan

The "tongue-in-cheek" quality of this enticing proposal is obvious: A thousand-mile zone would demilitarize all of Germany, the Benelux countries and almost half of France; it would push the present American garrisons west of Paris while leaving the bulk of Russian troops in the Eastern half of Poland, near their normal bases and ready to march with from 60-80 divisions. It may be argued that the displaced NATO divisions could also march from garrisons in central or western France, wherever the buffer zone boundary gave them breathing space. The catch there is the inherent abandonment of the enormously costly Allied installations, airfields, barracks, depots and warehouses that have been built since 1945, running into billions of dollars.

Map No. 5 shows the approximate location of NATO divisions, *i.e.*, the NATO "shield," and equivalent Soviet divisions. These are *ready* divisions, available on the spot, triggered for action. Even then, it must be accepted that the American divisions are handicapped by the presence of women and children (as in Korea) who represent a burden of protection or removal when the shooting starts. Note that NATO divisions are rather thinly dispersed. The Greek and Italian divisions, for example, can hardly intervene along the Rhine. They probably will have their hands full along their own frontiers. This is what the NATO "shield" of *ready* divisions is composed of:

Norway	1 div. (-)	
Denmark	1 div. (-)	
Benelux	4.5 divs.	The "Shield"
United States	5 divs.	The "Shield"
United Kingdom and Canada	5 divs.	The "Shield"
France	2 divs.	The "Shield"
Germany	3 divs. (12)	The "Shield"
Italy	8 divs.	
Greece	6 divs.	

Mr. Hanson Baldwin, the brilliant military analyst of the *New York Times*, makes a gallant attempt to provide "a silver lining": He refers to NATO infantry as the "shield" and to NATO air forces as the "sword." That works both ways. The Russians have both "shield" and "sword." We have not ignored the air factor but *an air force can only fly and destroy; it takes infantry to*

hold, administer and rebuild. The infantry division is still the yardstick of comparison in military power: here the Russians are leading.

3. *Buffer Zones and Soviet Invasion Plans.*

The real purpose in all Russian proposals of any category, of course, is the retention of their war loot, the Baltic countries, a divided Germany, a multilated Poland, satellite frontier controls, etc. They seek the legalization of the Potsdam crimes (equally chargeable to the Allies) that drove millions from their homes and properties, in their possession for centuries. This is the *cancer* of Europe from which it has ailed since Versailles. Buffer zones are not the remedy. They are a military-political hoax. They would separate the contending armies by a few hundred miles—a matter of three or four truck days for motorized and armored units; a matter of minutes for intercontinental, ballistic missiles from present Russian bases; a matter of hours for a thorough raking-over by jet-propelled aircraft. The present Russian war potential for invasion of Western Europe has to be conceded; indeed, the Kremlin has boasted of it repeatedly. Russian lines of advance can be anticipated; they are based on logistics, on the road and rail nets; any competent General Staff can recognize the broad outlines.

"Paper Corridors"

Operation *"Vozhd"* 1948 is probably still valid. It was held in abeyance by the American atomic monopoly until that was demolished by the Fuchs-Nunn-Rosenberg espionage thefts. Simplified lines of Russian operations are shown on Map 6: *The plan is entirely feasible.* The thesis is untenable that demilitarized zones, regardless of width, can seriously impair the Russian war potential; *they can only restrict NATO effectiveness.* This is demonstrable on sight, if we superimpose the variable zones from Pfleiderer to Bulganin over Western Europe *to scale.* These "paper corridors" *will not block* the Russian lines of advance; they *will only delay* them by increasing marching or trucking distances. The Pentagon spotted the fallacy at once and contemptuously dismissed "withdrawal to a narrow strip along the Western border of Germany as *utter nonsense.*"

4. *Adenauer, Heusinger and Bulganin: 1943-1957.*

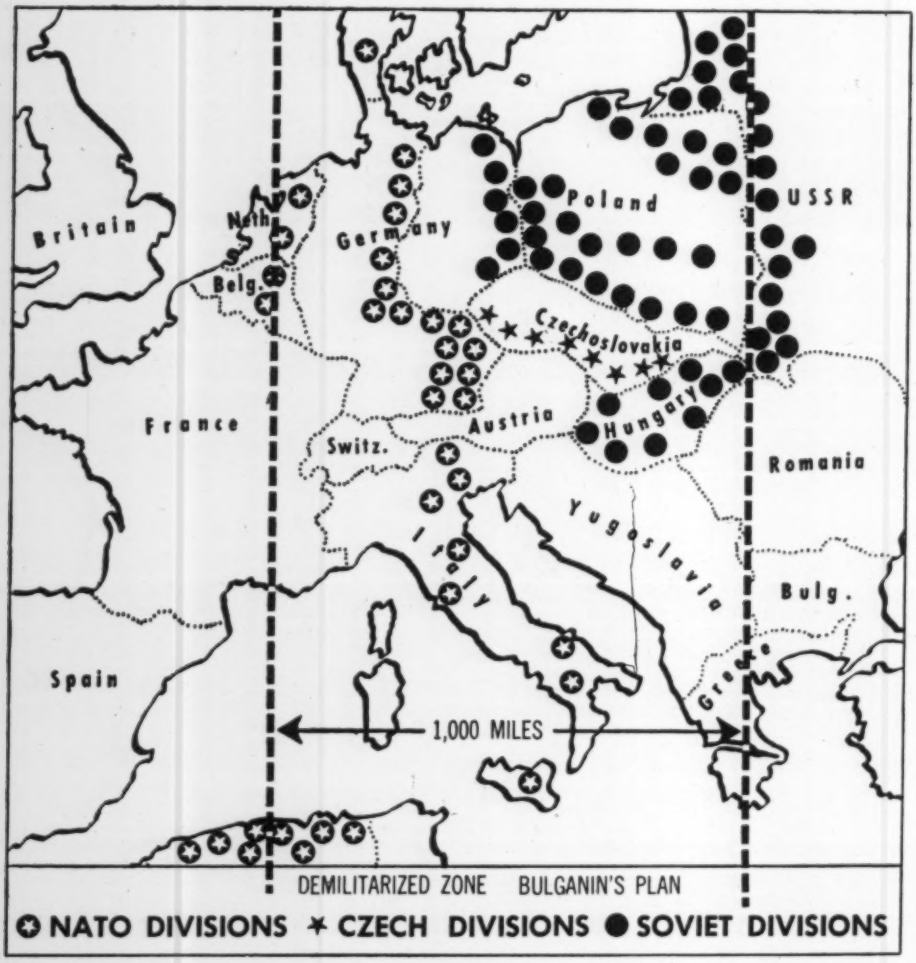
The buffer-zone proposals were largely intramural and inter-governmental—but they drifted with the tide of public opinion; it was inescapable that German authorities would come to grips with the general problem, since they are directly under the Russian guns. German Chancellor Adenauer is reported to have said:

> . . . It is possible that the problem of a demilitarized zone in Central Europe will again be presented to interested Powers. Indeed, it has been under study [by us] since 1953. . . .

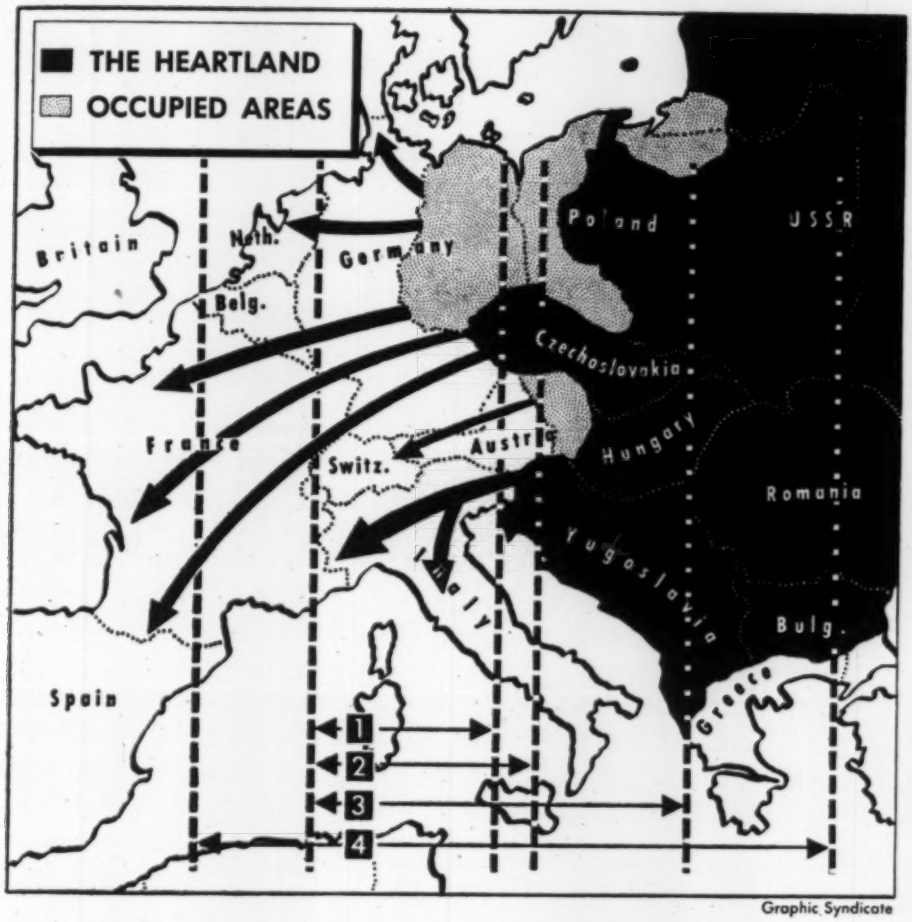
These German studies were based on the Eastern frontier of a reunited Germany. The zone ran from the North Sea to the Adriatic. General Heusinger made a concrete proposal to that effect in 1953. It was then linked to a favorite theme of Adenauer's, the "European Defense Community" (EDC) as a practical inter-European security system. EDC was torpedoed by Mendès-France with the assistance of the solid voting bloc of the French Communist Party.

German Diplomatic Scouts

Heusinger's "base line," which omitted the Oder-Neisse line, was anathema to the Russians; they have to encourage and support the Poles in their spurious claims to prewar German territory, in order to offset and cover up the brutal Russian confiscation of Eastern Poland—*the chain effect of modern conquest.* Bulganin finally approached Washington directly but his 1,000-mile zone was rejected; the cloven hoof showed too plainly. That will bring Adenauer to Washington; "the old man" is too astute to cut across



Map No. 5



Map No. 6: Operation Vozhd, 1948

Soviet invasion plans, in the period of 1945-1949, are fairly well-known. There is no copyright or "monopoly" on strategic analysis: road and railroad nets as well as the known disposition of Soviet divisions, in East Germany, etc., and the large formation of satellites, especially in Czechoslovakia, develop an unmistakable pattern of possible Soviet movements. This is the basis of "Vozhd 1948," a general Soviet invasion of the West, though the plan was stopped by the temporary atomic superiority of the U. S. This superiority will probably be eliminated by 1958. The Soviet base for offensive warfare is in Poland and Czechoslovakia and along the Russo-Polish boundary. In addition, the Soviets maintain 25 to 30 divisions in East Germany—an overwhelming "mass" as compared to the dwindling NATO strength. This discrepancy in divisions, i.e., organized military strength, is the real cause of contemporary "tension." The West will be bullied by the East as long as this weakness prevails.

American positions; it is plain that the high-powered delegation of German VIP's recently sent to this country was a sort of diplomatic reconnaissance patrol, busily engaged in preparation for the expected visit of the Chancellor in April or May.

To sum up:

1. The East-West tension is a legacy of World War Two. It is directly traceable to Soviet Communist machinations.

2. There are intermittent attempts to relieve this tension.

3. The proposed creation of a Mid-European demilitarized buffer zone represents such an attempt.

4. Eden came up with a narrow zone which was radically enlarged by Bulganin.

5. The military impact of Bulganin's proposal was ultimately in favor of the Soviets and was rejected by Washington.

6. No buffer zones would be effectual in case of a serious invasion by the Soviet Union. See Maps 5 and 6.

7. The crux of the tension lies in the chronic weakness of NATO *vis-à-vis* the Warsaw Pact, *i.e.*, 20-30 Western divisions are confronted by 100-175 Soviet divisions.

NATIONAL TRENDS

(*Continued from p. 348*)

ways and the value of independence, security, and the sense of belonging . . . succumbing to rapid economic and social changes." Thus, the AEA concluded, "the dissatisfaction produced by rapid growth in some areas may not constitute the opening wedge for the entry of subversive forces from the Soviet Union."

Granted, the AEA was saying, American private enterprise may be unable to furnish all of the capital for so-called "social overhead"—*i.e.*, railroads, communications, electric power, irrigation projects, harbor facilities, etc.—that our social planners have determined to be immediately necessary for the underdeveloped areas. But what private enterprise can furnish (and let us note it furnished quite a bit in the nineteenth century) is just about all the U.S. *should* furnish. A "crash program" of economic development is not desirable unless accompanied by the "knowledge, skills, and attitudes favorable to saving and enterprise. . ." The proper aim of U.S. policy in underdeveloped areas "cannot be simply economic development." The aim must be the best *kind* of economic development—*i.e.*, that which "most efficiently satisfies consumer demand." Obviously, "the marketplace and the free enterprise system [in government] provide the most effective means of determining what shall be produced, how much shall be made, and how it shall be produced."

What is needed for the right kind of economic development in underdeveloped areas, the AEA concluded, is primarily a political climate in those areas favorable to private foreign investment. And one of the major obstacles to such a climate is the existence of a U.S. government-to-government aid program that removes incentive on the part of foreign governments to create favorable conditions for American enterprise.

Letter from the Continent

E. v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

The Blight of Bureaucracy

Bureaucratic procedures in a modern state are unavoidable, but whereas most people get used to the uncomfortable and shady sides of bureaucracy in their own country, they cry out to high heaven if they encounter it abroad. The Americans and the English are convinced that Continental European bureaucracy is the most frightful thing on earth, and Continentals hold similar opinions about this institution in Anglo-Saxondom. Of course we also find differences within the Continental world. Spaniards and Germans, Austrians and Swiss, will be convinced that the situation is bad in their own nations—but much worse in the others. With the forthcoming unification of Europe the clash of the various bureaucracies will produce amazing results, and Europeans with a sense of humor are already licking their chops in expectation of the greatest show on earth.

The disagreeable aspects of bureaucracy are its cumbersomeness, its ubiquity and its inhuman rigidity. Yet, whereas the average American in his daily life rarely encounters the bureaucratic machinery, the Continental, who rarely escapes bureaucratic procedures, is amazed by the soulless rigidity of American bureaucracy. Of course, here as in other matters, the Atlantic is only seemingly a dividing line; in Northern Europe and in Switzerland bureaucracy is limited to very specific affairs, but within these "the law is the law" and even to ask for an exception to the rule is considered a moral affront.

No wonder, therefore, that Europeans who, during the occupation or in the process of transferring Hungarian refugees to God's Own Country, have come in touch with American federal bureaucracy, are amazed at its rigidity and have drawn wrong inferences concerning American life. Americans have no illusions about the fact that federal taxation is a deadly earnest affair, while most Continentals refuse to take income taxes too seriously. Americans have always been led to believe that Continentals have a natural inclination towards political subservience, but the raising of the taxpayer's signature to the high rank of a solemn oath is something no European government would dare to do.

Immigration, similarly, is a most serious matter—just as it is in Britain. (Remember Henry Miller's hilarious but photographically accurate report of his abortive effort to land in Newhaven, Sussex.) I know of an American who could not bring his foreign wife to the United States because she had some lung trouble—a thing absolutely unthinkable in the Old World. The "red tape" connected with the transfer of Hungarians to the United States causes general amazement. For a long time there were quotas granting 50 per cent (later 65 per cent) of available transport facilities to Catholics, 30 per cent to Protestants, and 20 per cent to Jews. Yet the percentage of Jewish refugees was about ten (whereas they form less than 2 per cent of the population and the Catholics almost 70 per cent). Catholics ran around Vienna imploring Jews to apply for American visas because the Jewish quota had to be fiilled before Catholic applications could be accepted. And Since Western Hungary (adjoining Austria) is more than 80 per cent Catholic, the troubles were endless and the feeling strong that Catholics were being discriminated against. The "paper war" of the American Army in its various occupation areas has created endless amazement.

The European bureaucracy, we admit, is more ubiquitous, and Americans in Europe chafe under its regulations. Usually it takes them too long to realize that Continentals do not take "no" for an answer, that they believe in Government by Persons rather than in Government by Law (except democratic, republican and Calvinist Switzerland), that in the heart of the Continent one can frankly tell a bureaucrat that the law he has invoked is inhuman, senseless and mischievous and that it is therefore his duty to help the petitioner to find a legal way out (there always is one). Just because Continental bureaucracy has an absolute security of tenure, it can afford to be more flexible, more generous. A bad bureaucrat will be corrupt, a good one may obey the spirit of the law but cheat the letter. Besides, on the Continent there is always a spirit of anarchic rebellion; when a new income tax was promulgated in Spain two years ago the authorities expected 7000 returns for Madrid and 8000 for Barcelona. Actually there were 700 returns in Madrid and fourteen (!) in Barcelona, which means a "natural resistance" in the capital and a real conspiracy in Barcelona.

What the individual with some imagination can do on the Continent has been demonstrated by a German who went to Rome in 1948 where his wallet with his passport was stolen. At that time Germany had no foreign representation, no legations, no consulates. The situation seemed hopeless, but the German went to the General of a minor religious order which we will call the Theodorians. He persuaded the General to issue to him a "travel document"—not a passport, not a forgery, but merely a large, beautifully printed piece of paper in which the Father General of the Theodorians appealed to all concerned to facilitate Herr N. N.'s travels in every way. Pictures, revenue stamps, seals, signatures, scrawls and embossed coats of arms were added, and baffled consulates in Rome affixed their visas. It was the most grandiose document of all time, and effective, though not a single line carried a lie, a misstatement, or a forgery. Only at the toughest of all borders, the Swiss, a young official tried to object, whereupon the German said in apparent surprise: "Is it possible you've never seen a Theodorian passport?" The official hastened to say that he had, naturally, heard about it, but that this was the first time he had seen one. He handled it with true awe.

Needless to say, the miracle would have worked with neither British nor American immigration authorities. With them, as with American banks, you enter the cold world of absolutes.

Seven Keys to Anomie

Newthink II: A basic course in thought patterns for the aspiring intellectual in today's world. The Heath system calls for minimal cerebration

ALOISE HEATH

"Who Are the Intellectuals?" Malcolm Cowley asked the readers of the *New Republic* at some length a couple of weeks ago. Who are the "freely speculating minds," he inquired, with the disciplined urgency of a man who suspects that unless he finds out he may shortly be reduced to talking to himself.

He knows *what* intellectuals are, all right: they are distinguished from other people by "a special *attitude*"; they are persons "open to ideas"; they also "differ among themselves on every conceivable issue."

He knows what intellectuals do, too, or at least some things. One thing intellectuals do, says Mr. Cowley, is nominate Adlai Stevenson for the Presidency. (Which, for my money, means that intellectuals think Adlai Stevenson is an inconceivable issue, and I think so too.) Another thing Mr. Cowley says intellectuals do is, in 1934, as Roosevelt's lieutenants, successfully apply "the ideas of John Maynard Keynes, which, after 20 years have also been accepted by many of the leading Republicans"—accepted not, one assumes, because the leading Republicans are intellectuals, but because "the intellectual commonplaces of one generation become the political commonplaces of another."

In the "intellectual community" whose personnel Mr. Cowley seeks, there is, he says, "a division of function." There are those who "expound" and there are those who "willingly listen" (and I anticipate with considerable pleasure a follow-up article in the *New Republic* to be entitled: "Who Are the Intellectuals Who Willingly Listen?"). "Note," Mr. Cowley continues, inaccurately, I fear, "that the two roles may be exchanged. Professor Smith, who has been suggesting a new American policy in the Middle East, steps down from the platform and listens while Professor Robinson expounds the Dead Sea Scrolls; then Robinson listens in turn while Professor Braun develops a new theory of city planning." Anybody who reads this paragraph carefully can see the flaw in Mr. Cowley's illustration. Professor Robinson actually is *not* a "willing listener"; he only listens to the others so that they will listen to him, and you can see his point, because, frankly, Professor Smith and Professor Braun don't know beans about the Middle East or city planning. (I really don't know why Mr. Cowley even mentioned those three. Simply everybody calls them the Scratch-My-Back Club.)

I hope that nothing I have said suggests that Mr. Cowley is indulging in a rhetorical question when he asks, "Who Are the Intellectuals?" Conservatives, as we all know, positively wallow in what is known as non-constructive criticism, but no Liberal would feel qualified to voice a dislike of your blueberry pie unless he could suggest an extra 2 tbs. shortening and perhaps a little less sugar; nor would Mr. Cowley ask who the intellectuals are unless he knew how to find out.

Present of a Pony

The social psychologists, who have been working on the authoritarian personality and "what they call anomie, sometimes defined as a state of indifference resulting from blank discouragement," are just the boys to spot all those faceless intellectuals. Mr. Cowley suggests that they be identified by means of seven questions (supplied by himself), the answers to which would be graded by comparison with a list of "typically intellectual answers to the questions." The typically intellectual answers which characterize typical intellectuals would, I assume, be established by a preliminary canvassing of the people who nominated Adlai Stevenson and of Roosevelt's lieutenants in 1934.

For any of NATIONAL REVIEW's readers who are interested in making Cowley's Intellectual Register, I herewith present his questionnaire, along with a list of typically intellectual answers, which I just happen to know because I just happen to be typically intellectual, even if Mr. Cowley doesn't know who I am.

1. *"What are your degrees, from which colleges or universities?"*

Don't worry about the degree on this one; anything from B.A. on up will do, unless your degree is in science, in which case you must have a Ph.D., and it must be in physics. Your college is the real test here; the only acceptable alma mater is either: a) a private college or university in the East, *or,* b) a state university in the Middle or Far West, *or* c) the University of Grenoble, but NEVER d) *any* college or *any* university *anywhere* in the Southern half of the United States unless you are William Faulkner (and *I* don't think you are).

2. *"Whom did you vote for in the last two Presidential elections?"*

Intellectuals diverge widely on this one, so you can be pretty much on your own. Any one of the following four answers is correct: a) Adlai Stevenson, Adlai Stevenson; b) Adlai Stevenson, Norman Thomas; c) Norman Thomas, Adlai Stevenson; d) Norman Thomas, Norman Thomas. (Actually, if you want to go into the nuances of the thing, in 1956 Norman Thomas was less intellectual than in 1952 and Eisenhower had become much, much more intellectual, but let's not take any chances.)

3. *"Do you often read any of the following magazines?* [With a list appended.]"

Simply check any magazine with a circulation of 25,000 or under except NATIONAL REVIEW. After NATIONAL REVIEW, write: "???" or "!!!" Either is acceptable.

4. *"If you drive a car, what is the make and how old is it?"*

The typically intellectual car is a) if expensive, old, or b) if new, inexpensive. If you are fool enough to answer, "Cadillac, 1957" you will almost certainly flunk; a 1929 Rolls Royce, on the other hand, is perhaps the *most* in intellectual cars and may easily net you a 20 point bonus.

5. *"Do you spend much time looking at TV?"*

If you think you've passed all the other questions, it might be safe to branch out into a little whimsy here. In any case, the following answers, personality-geared, are all good: a) "Never"—straight-type intellectual; b) "Only Milton Berle"—droll-type intellectual; c) "Any soap opera"—sarcastic-type intellectual. If you have *any doubts at all* about the other questions, however, give the first, or straight-type answer.

6. *"Do you believe that the United States should continue testing hydrogen bombs?"*

Here again, any one of three answers rates maximum score: a) "Absolutely not!"; b) "Certainly not!"; c) "No." (*Now* are you beginning to see why it's so difficult to pinpoint intellectuals?) You should firmly resist the temptation here to say: "No, but . . ." or: "No. However . . ." This kind of garrulity is almost as unintellectual as saying yes.

7. *"Which of these attitudes toward racial segregation is closest to your own?* [With an appended choice of opinions.]"

Ignore all those choices of opinions, which are simply traps. Write diagonally across the list, in very large black letters: "UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES!!!" and then underline it twice. This is a highly typically-intellectual solution to the problem and it saves thinking about all those choices, which is so time-consuming.

There! Test's over! That wasn't so bad now, was it? And if you remembered everything I told you, you're in!

"The passing grade," Mr. Cowley reassures us, "would be 70 or 80, not 90 or 100; for intellectuals differ among themselves on every conceivable issue." And when you think of all those different colleges and cars, you can see his point. Medford Evans has also devised a test for intellectuals which, either substituted for or added to Mr. Cowley's questionnaire, would make for easier grading by the social psychologists, since a clear-cut "yes" or "no" serves to separate the sheep from the goats (not that anybody regards intellectuals as goats).

Substitute or Supplement

Here are some of Mr. Evans' questions:

1. "Do you think that, of course, Communism is bad; but that it is unshakably in the saddle in Russia and China; that Soviet power is forging irresistibly ahead of the West; and that the real danger is anti-Communism?"

2. "Do you think 'Jim Crow' must be ended now and that the Hindu caste system requires enormous patience?"

3. "Do you consider Dr. Kinsey correct in saying that science has no concern with morals, and that the real greatness of Dr. Oppenheimer is seen in his 'moral' objections to the hydrogen bomb?"

4. "Do you think theology is intellectually ridiculous, and that professors of theology who attack capitalism deserve great respect?"

5. "Do you believe that American fear of Communism is hysteria and that Soviet fear of 'capitalist encirclement' is only what one must expect?"

The perfect score here, as you may have guessed, is five "yes" answers, and your status, rated by yesses, is 5—typical intellectual; 4—atypical intellectual; 3—typical unintellectual; 2—dope; 1 or less — NATIONAL REVIEW subscriber.

And now, if you will forgive me, I will sink back into the "state of indifference resulting from blank discouragement" which Mr. Cowley's social psychologists call "anomie." I have a feeling this attack is going to be the worst yet.

"I may be a mess, but I'm an intellectual mess!"

From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

Student Apathy and Presidential Bumbling

In the course of a year, I lecture at half a hundred colleges and universities; and everywhere I hear the complaint that students nowadays are apathetic—bored with their courses, with modern problems, with life. These complaints come from both the professors and the better students, and I know of no exceptions: at Harvard and Yale, for instance, this discouragement is encountered on every hand.

The larger the university or college, usually, the greater the degree of apathy. One finds student apathy, too, at Haverford or Williams or Reed; but the proportion of it is markedly less than at the enormous state universities. When recently I was invited to speak at a private university, the chairman of the lecture-committee wrote wearily to me, after I had inquired what I ought to talk about, "It is hard to say *what* could interest our students." And this in a generation long exposed to the Teachers College, Columbia, doctrine of "interest" in education: the doctrine that all subjects ought to be made easy and entertaining! An obsession with "interest" seems to have produced only boredom.

Part of the trouble lies at the door of triumphant Deweyism. The imaginative content of primary and secondary learning has been so diluted in favor of "socializing boys and girls" and "adjustment to the modern world" and "serving the community needs" that few college freshmen are prepared for the general ideas and strict higher disciplines of which a college education ought to consist.

And a part of the trouble lies at the door of the empire-builders among our university and college presidents, especially the presidents and publicity people of the vast state universities and colleges. For they have deliberately fetched into their institutions large numbers of young people who do not know why they are there—and many of whom do not want to be there. This dead weight upon a university infinitely discourages the professors and the better students; it lowers the tone of every lecture; it puts a great burden of paper work and conferences upon the backs of the instructors; and it ultimately must adversely affect academic freedom. For it is impossible to educate people who do not want to be educated.

Why They Come to College

Some of the "students" who refuse to study have come to college because their parents entertain some vague notion that college may better their sons and daughters socially or financially. Some have come to avoid work for a few more years. Some have come out of a confused desire for vocational training which could better be obtained on the job. And many have come because the college recruiting officers shanghaied them.

Now the apology of the empire-builders in our state universities is that "the public demands ever-increasing facilities." A vastly greater proportion of young people, they argue, want a college education. And the universities exist "to serve the public demand."

If, indeed, more young people than ever before really do want a real university education, then probably that is a good sign. It does not follow, however, that existing universities should be allowed to swell to the bursting-point: real higher education must be education on a humane scale, and if there is a real demand for more college facilities, then new separate colleges—university branches, or "community colleges," or what you will—should be established. But the present apathy among students suggests that a great part of this "demand" for a university degree is merely frivolous or snobbish; and that some considerable part of it is artificially stimulated by bumbling presidents and burbling recruiting-officers.

Here in Michigan, the president of a very good small private college, Kalamazoo College—Dr. Weimer Hicks—recently remarked in public that the state institutions are frenziedly recruiting students wherever they can obtain them, and whatever their state of preparation. From the University of Michigan and Michigan State University, he added, "Teams of recruiters armed with carloads of pamphlets annually descend on state high schools, where they sell their institutions, rather than education, to prospective students." This state-subsidized empire-building, he pointed out, is pushing the private colleges with decent standards to the wall. "If you want complete state control of education, just lose our independent colleges. . . ."

Fly-Casting for Credit

President John Hannah of MSU recently endeavored to defend his own behemoth university. "I'm not objecting," he announces, "to constructive criticism, which is all to the good and makes for progress, but when someone starts criticizing destructively without any suggestion for overcoming what he's complaining about, that's disturbing."

MSU, as you may recall, is the place where there are "professors of outdoor education" and courses in fly-casting—for full credit, of course. The federal Assistant Commissioner for Vocational Education wants our federal government to grant $228,000 in aid of state programs to "stimulate vocational education in fishing." A good many states have asked for such help, he informs us. Yes: at the urging of educational institutions like Mr. Hannah's Michigan State. So here is a constructive criticism: abolish the department of outdoor education, and reduce the problem of swollen enrollments by toning down that student-recruitment campaign. If a state university stands for the works of the mind, and endeavors to attract only young people interested in the works of the mind, then apathy may give way to real concern for the private intellect and the public good.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

The Western Star

RICHARD M. WEAVER

America has seen few political personalities as attractive as Henry Clay. Born in Virginia in 1777, he moved while a young man to that "spreading meadow whence the rivers flow," which is central Kentucky. He had the right combination of appearance, magnetism, audacity and eloquence to please the card-, horse-, and politics-loving aristocracy which dominated that region, and his star rose fast. In 1806 he became United States Senator, and in 1850, forty-four years later, he was still a dominant political figure in his state and in the nation. In between political activities he lived the life of a gentleman-planter at his beautiful estate "Ashland," outside Lexington, and dispensed a convivial hospitality.

In *Henry Clay and the Art of American Politics* (Little, Brown, $3.50) Professor Clement Eaton surveys his career for the Library of American Biography series. Clay was one of the American commissioners sent to Ghent to negotiate a treaty following the well-nigh disastrous war of 1812. The contrast between his behavior and that of John Quincy Adams, who read five chapters of the Bible every day and retired at nine, has become legendary. But Clay was an expert poker player; and had he not brought to the treaty table what he learned at the poker table, it is doubtful whether the United States would have emerged so favorably from a war which it can hardly be said to have won.

He was the first to advocate recognizing the South American republics, then in rebellion against Spain, and his name today carries more prestige in Latin America than that of any other American statesman. In 1826, while Secretary of State, he suggested cutting a canal "across Mexico or Central America," to be free to the ships of all the world. In Congress he defended the rights of the Southern Indians, who had been harshly wronged by Andrew Jackson.

A believer in tariffs, Clay tried to be a moderator between elements at the North who wanted a high level of protection and those at the South who wanted free trade. And two years before his death in 1852 he maneuvered through Congress the last of his great compromises, which postponed the issue of civil war for ten years and in so doing probably determined the outcome. It is not surprising that over in Illinois a gangling tyro in politics named Lincoln looked upon Clay as his idol and wondered how he could be like him.

Meantime Clay ran for the Presidency three times, more than any other man in history except Eugene Debs and Norman Thomas. But despite his art of politics and fervent supporters in every part of the Union, the dazzling prize eluded him. The reasons seem to have been both personal and political.

Clay was never a profound political thinker. His formal education was slight, and though he deplored this, he did little to repair the deficiency. When admirers sent him books, he glanced at them but did not read them. He attacked Calhoun, his great rival in the Senate, as a "metaphysician." For the persuasiveness of his speeches he relied upon topical interest, his own appealing personality, and what all contemporaries agreed was a wonderful voice.

His political position was seriously mixed. Kentucky has always been a border state, trying to explain the North to the South and the South to the North. In Clay's time it was also a border state between East and West, with the added task of trying to explain the older, more settled regions to the frontier and the frontier to them.

All this involved Clay in many political ambivalences. He owned slaves but did not believe in slavery. His famous compromises were designed not to solve the problem but to pacify the opposing sides. Though he came from an agricultural section, he stood for tariffs and so alienated large segments of Southern opinion. Though he delighted in being called "Harry of the West" and "the Western Star," he supported the National Bank, which was anathema to the Jacksonians and to the West in general. When issues became acute, his failure to take a consistent line cost heavily. A temporizing stand on the annexation of Texas in 1844 probably lost him the Presidency by alienating voters on either side of the question.

Then there was his Whiggery. The Whigs have left important lessons in how not to survive as a great party, and Whig policy seems to have been congenial to Clay's nature. No party, says Tocqueville, will endure long if it makes personalities rather than principles and ideas its main source of strength. This the Whig Party did regularly; in the campaign of 1840 it declined even to adopt a platform. The graver political issues became, the more inadequate the Whigs were, so that one could say that they prepared their own demise in 1856. Personality, popularity and glamor could carry the party through minor crises, but could not carry it through a major one. This explains why Clay, with all his charm and with his impressive record of achievement, has not gone down in history as a seminal political thinker. He was not a political landmark, like Calhoun; he was a mentor of the art of politics, perhaps, but not of political philosophy.

Professor Eaton's final accolade for Clay is that by his tactics of compromise he saved the Union until it was able to save itself in the war of unification of 1861-65. Yet there is another side of this which biographers seem unwilling to stress: Clay is a kind of bridge stretching from the Virginia Dynasty to the Gilded Age.

Thence, in another span, the bridge reaches on to modern industrialism and centralized government. The author intimates as much when he says that in the critical decade of his life "Clay changed the emphasis of his political thinking from the preservation of human rights to the advancement of the material well-being of his section and the nation." Clay's nationalism inspired the nationalism of Lincoln. His devotion to tariffs and to federal-sponsored internal improvements played right into the hands of those who turned this country from a decentralized, agrarian, and somewhat libertarian republic into a plutocratic, nationalized state, in which the leaders of opinion were no longer ministers and lawyers, but businessmen. True, Clay did not live to see the Gilded Age. But the forces that created it were there, and he was their mouthpiece. All they needed was the political and economic right of way which the Civil War gave them. From their excesses sprang eventually a monster of different, but no lovelier mien, the New Deal.

One of the gravest temptations is to say that you love liberty but to show by your actions that you love other things more—to decide that "material well-being" is more important than "the preservation of human rights." Clay was not profound enough to see the nature of this choice. Jefferson saw it and made it to the extent of adopting an almost anarchistic attitude toward the state. While Clay did a number of things that are admirable in themselves, he did not perceive that who sups with the devil needs a long spoon. His concessions to centralization and a burgeoning industrialism paved the way for some of the most onerous problems that our generation is heir to.

The Great Dawson

The Dynamics of World History, by Christopher Dawson, edited by John J. Mulloy. 489 pp. New York: Sheed and Ward. $6.00

Christopher Dawson's name deserves to be far better known in this country than it is. He brings to the field of historical speculation (the study which he calls "metahistory" and which Spengler called "the morphology of history") an understanding of the deep rhythms of human existence and a critical historiographic ability.

If the corpus of his work lacks the ambition and sweep of Spengler's *Decline of the West* or Toynbee's *A Study of History*, the balance of his judgment and the depth of his Catholic outlook give it a dimension which is lacking in them. He places historical problems in the context of a wider metaphysical understanding of man's destiny, so that his method provides a point of perspective, a bit of *terra firma*, from which the dizzying phenomena of historical development may be considered without that descent into relativism which is the besetting vice both of Spengler and of Toynbee.

The Dynamics of World History is an anthology of selections from Dawson's writings, assembled by John J. Mulloy with the aim of providing, in a single volume, a continuous and homogeneous representation of the full range of Dawson's thought. Anthologizing of this sort usually defeats its purpose by giving the reader a dry outline of a man's ideas, with all the life squeezed out—as, for example, in the Somervell "abridgments" of Toynbee. In this case, however, Mr. Mulloy has succeeded extraordinarily well. He avoids the temptation to extract only generalizations and summaries and he gives us live and integral selections that, taken together, transmit an understanding of Dawson's thought, not schematically, but in depth.

The result is most impressive. A view of history emerges more rounded than I should have thought from my previous readings of some of Dawson's separate works. Not more profound, for profundity has always been apparent; but more complete. Yet, even when Dawson's ideas are laid out thus systematically, there is nothing about him of the system-maker who crushes reality into a preconceived pattern.

His view of history is an humble one. The fruits of his scholarship and his insights into the process of history are presented with a constant awareness of the mysterious background against which all human existence is enacted. Deep though his devotion to historical inquiry is, the other dimensions of man's existence, the non-historical, the timeless spiritual extension of his being, are never lost to sight.

This constant sense of the place of history in a multi-dimensioned universe of being is Christopher Dawson's great contribution to the speculative study of history. This is one of the few arts in which the twentieth century has excelled; but it has done so only with characteristic shortcomings—the shortcomings of that positivist outlook which sees the world, in Dawson's words, as "a passive or, at most, mechanistic system, a background for human energies, mere matter for the human mind to mould." Against this view, by which history is condemned to ultimate meaninglessness, Christopher Dawson asserts the radically contradictory proposition: that "the end of history is not found in history itself, but arises from the raising of history to a supertemporal plane." FRANK S. MEYER

A Master

The Sea Dreamer: A Definitive Biography of Joseph Conrad, by Gérard Jean-Aubry, translated by Helen Sabba. 321 pp. New York: Doubleday and Company. $4.50

Joseph Conrad Korzeniowski, son of a minor Polish poet, became one of the acknowledged masters of English prose; and it is appropriate that this biography, written by his friend and French translator, should appear in English in the year that is the centennial of his birth. It is a model of what the biography of a writer should be.

Its author has written concisely from exhaustive documentation and

has scrupulously limited himself to facts, never indulging in critical ecphrasis or presuming to inject his own psychological fantasies into the essentially unknowable areas of life in which even the most distinguished man is entitled to a decent respect for his privacy. The English version is adequate, although Miss Sabba has slipped on three or four French colloquialisms and really should be told that in English men do not address one another as "my dear."

A work of art is independent of the artist's life, but it is nevertheless good to know that Conrad in his personal relationships and in his long career at sea displayed the integrity and lucid intelligence that he eventually brought to literature. We, who live in an age in which good prose is sometimes written by political idiots, should particularly notice a letter which Conrad wrote to Sir Hugh Clifford when Communist Russia was invited to attend the Peace Conference after the First World War:

> The mangy Russian dog having gone mad is now being invited to sit at the Conference table, on British initiative! The thing is inconceivable, but there it is. One asks oneself whether this is idealism, stupidity or hypocrisy. . . . The whole paltry transaction of conciliating mere crime for fear of obscure political consequence makes one sick. In a class contest there is no room for conciliation. The attacked class cannot save itself by throwing honesty, dignity and convictions overboard. The issue is simply life and death, and if anything can save the situation, it is only ruthless courage. And even then I am not certain.

That was in January 1919. What Conrad would say today after two generations of Liberals, trembling in masochistic ecstasy before the Muscovite beast, have enticed our nations to moral bankruptcy, I do not know. But I am reminded of the protagonist of Conrad's least read novel, the weirdly prophetic *Inheritors*, who tells the idealistic renegade, "You have parted with your past: you have no future."

REVILO OLIVER

To order any book reviewed in this book section, write:

THE BOOKMAILER
Box 101, Murray Hill Station
New York 16, N.Y.

Return mail service—postpaid
PAY ONLY BOOKSTORE PRICE

$.....payment enclosed

Please send me: ..... (name of book)

.....

.....

Name .....

Address .....

.....

(No C.O.D. orders accepted; payment MUST accompany order. N.Y. City residents add 3% tax.)

Work of Art

The Hell Bent Kid, by Charles O. Locke. 219 pp. New York: W. W. Norton & Company. $3.00

The title is bad, the picture on the cover is a calamity, but the book is three reading hours of joy.

This novel is not a "western," although it is about the West. Immersed in clichés, it is striking for its lack of them. Charles O. Locke tells smashingly of a young cowhand doomed. He does it in sentences as blunt as revolver butts, as authentic as life. If they lack redolence, that may be the book's *felix culpa*.

Tot Lohman has killed a son of a clan of cattlemen. His enemies, as cruel and bleak-souled as their Southwestern environment, control the territory. They hunt Tot down mercilessly. They drive him from violence to violence. They drive him into a rhapsodic vengeance when he looks up to discover the rotted figure of his father, swaying from a rope. But they finally drive him to greatness, to the self-immolation of the phoenix, so that in destroying himself he is saved; and he finally takes on tragic proportions.

In his scrupulous care to work almost entirely through the mind and feelings of an ignorant cowhand, Charles Locke pares his work of the flesh without which bone becomes insubstantial. The hunted young man seems too willing to embrace his destiny. The fates seem sometimes capriciously pitted against him. Tot does sense that there is a more important consideration than his life—or even the lives of people who befriend him. He apprehends the true danger when he batters a man to death and tortures three others. But what this means in total terms, what is the significance of his moral deterioration or his heroic stand against a further descent into darkness, these things are beyond him.

But in this narrow perspective, Mr. Locke is true to his character. In all probability, any philosophising by a cowhand would have to be simplistic; or, by the author, presumptious. And Mr. Locke is anxious to avoid both artificiality and sentimentalism. If his tale of inexorable doom lacks the overtones of tragic perspective, it abounds in the pungent simplicity necessary to all fine drama. This book will be read with sustained suspense; it will be closed with the ineffable sadness that accompanies the conclusion of a work of art.

F. R. BUCKLEY

Puzzle of Defeat

Graf Spee: The Life and Death of a Raider, by Dudley Pope. 256 pp. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. $3.95

This is one of the most readable books on naval history to appear in many a day—not only an exciting account of the Battle of the River Plate but, in background, an analysis of German naval strategy in the months of the war.

But those who wondered in 1939 why the pocket battleship Admiral Graf Spee was scuttled off Montevideo will still not know after reading this book. For although Mr. Pope has assembled all available material on the subject, including the captured records, Captain Hans Langsdorff, the Spee's commander, took the answer to his grave when he shot himself a few days after the action.

Admiral Parry, then Captain of the Achilles, one of the three British cruisers that battled the Graf Spee, remarks in his foreword that he cannot understand why the Spee ran into the trap of Montevideo when she could have sunk the crippled British cruiser Exeter and probably the other two light cruisers as well. Whatever may have been Langsdorff's reasoning, his final decision must be taken as a tribute to the aggressive tactics traditional with the Royal Navy.

MONTGOMERY M. GREEN

To the Editor

Mr. Beichman Protests

Your essay on the American Committee for Cultural Freedom, March 23, couldn't have been intended as a serious discussion. To say that the ACCF could have "commanded the respect of the entire country" had it been "impartial and relentlessly honest" is a piece of hyperbole bordering on nonsense. To say that the ACCF was "more afraid of anti-Communism than of Communism" evidences little knowledge of the committee's six-year history.

The most glaring example of your ignorance of the ACCF's history is your statement that J. Robert Oppenheimer was elected chairman of the committee "an indecorous few weeks after Dr. Oppenheimer was denied a security clearance by the Atomic Energy Commission." For the record:

1. Dr. Oppenheimer was never elected chairman of the committee nor was he ever nominated for that post.

2. Dr. Oppenheimer was never elected nor did he ever hold office in the committee.

3. Dr. Oppenheimer was nominated and elected as a member—one of several hundred—of the ACCF.

How could you possibly have been guilty of so wild a misstatement of known fact?

ARNOLD BEICHMAN, Chairman
ACCF Board of Directors
New York City

We very much regret having stated that Dr. Oppenheimer was elected chairman *of the ACCF an indecorous few weeks after being denied a security clearance by the Atomic Energy Commission when in fact he was merely (and splashily) elected a* member *of the ACCF an indecorous few weeks after being denied a security clearance by the Atomic Energy Commission.*

Mr. Beichman is free to disagree with NATIONAL REVIEW's *conclusions about the Committee for Cultural Freedom, and the causes of its dissolution. But he should not appear so surprised by our position. For if he is himself familiar with the ACCF, he must be aware that during its short history others arrived at similar conclusions, and registered those conclusions with the Committee. Thus Mr. James Burnham, resigning from the Committee on September 15, 1954, gave as his reason for doing so, his "conviction that over the past year and a half the Committee has developed into a narrow and partisan clique." A detailed letter of resignation from the ACCF and its Executive Committee, written by the distinguished Negro journalist, Mr. George Schuyler, on September 20, 1954, is illuminating, and we publish extracts from it here not only to make its contents more readily available to Mr. Beichman, but because the letter is inherently interesting and tends to corroborate* NATIONAL REVIEW's *analysis of the cause of the Committee's demise.*

We regret Mr. Beichman did not comment on the principal matter we brought up: the Committee's paralysis when confronted with the misbehavior of Archibald MacLeish and Elmer Davis. Mr. Beichman can be a tough and courageous analyst, witness his report, a year or so ago, on the Fund for the Republic. All the more inexplicable the diversionary character of his letter. What's the matter, Mr. Beichman? Cat got your tongue? —ED.

To ACCF—September 1954

After long and careful consideration, I have reluctantly decided to resign, after four years membership, from the American Committee for Cultural Freedom and from its Executive Committee. . . .

I remain in agreement with the principles set forth in the Berlin Manifesto but I have concluded that the American Committee has been steadily veering away from them. . . .

The ACCF has remained a small ingrown group of some three hundred self-styled intellectuals largely concentrated on the Eastern seaboard and influenced chiefly by the ideas and prejudices predominating in that area. As a result the Committee lacks the financial support accruing from a large national membership and has had to depend for its life on occasional grants from funds, foundations and other sources with selfish interests not always in accord with our professed ideals. . . .

While the Berlin Manifesto asserts that "Freedom is based on toleration of divergent opinions," the ACCF has shown in some of its officials' actions a singular and unbecoming intolerance. One instance was its recent successful intervention with the National Broadcasting Company against free time for H. L. Hunt's *Facts Forum*, presumably because the viewpoints expressed on this program diverge from their own. However, when threats from garment union officials compelled elimination of reference to Benjamin "Benny" Levine, millionaire garment manufacturer linked to Murder, Inc., from the NBC-TV script of "The Steve Allen Show" . . . the ACCF not only did not protest against the flagrant violation of cultural freedom, but the Executive Director professed not to know anything about it although the story appeared twice in the evening newspaper with the largest circulation in New York. Could there conceivably be any connection between this failure to act and the expectation of promised financial support from the same source that so violated cultural freedom?

The ACCF on several occasions has injected itself into matters which I believe to be outside its cultural scope. It criticized the Government's judgment in denying a passport to leftist playwright Arthur Miller. It protested against Attorney General McGranery's refusal of a re-entry permit to Charlie Chaplin. It opposed dismissal of government employees adjudged security risks. It has continuously inveighed against careful and deliberate examination of aliens seeking entrance visas, especially where former Communist intellectuals were concerned, and constantly sniped at the Walter-McCarran Act. In the Korwin Case, it demanded the disbarment of U.S. Justice Department prosecutor Gallagher in a case

far removed from cultural freedom. It protested to Chairman J. Carroll Reece of the House Special Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations, insinuating that his Committee's probe was a prelude to having Congress "legislate in the field of ideas," whereas the House group was simply seeking to ascertain the extent of the influence of these Funds and Foundations, which is obviously considerable, as in the case of the related and Foundation-supported Institute of Pacific Relations. . . .

As far back as April, the ACCF injected itself into the case of physicist Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer by writing to the Personnel Security Board of the Atomic Energy Commission with what amounted to a plea to go easy on the scientist. It asserted extraneously that Oppenheimer had helped the ACCF and the Congress for Cultural Freedom in a way to make his anti-Communist position "quite clear"; that he had been a sponsor of its Congress for Science and Freedom in Hamburg in 1953 (although not then an ACCF member), and had cooperated with the Committee in dissuading scientists "from becoming involved with Communist-line organizations."

This intervention proved to no avail, and the Atomic Energy Commission having decided by a four to one vote that Dr. Oppenheimer was a security risk, the ACCF Executive Committee with immature defiance voted him a member of the Committee despite his admitted connections with and protection of Communists and his past financial support of the Party; thus disregarding the AEC findings and the decision of the President of the United States. . . .

The Executive Committee has done a disservice to America by initiating and promoting the phoney propaganda about anti-intellectualism in this country and an alleged wave of fear and hysteria because our Government and various private and public institutions and organizations have sought to rid themselves of a few Reds, security risks, and fellow travelers. This propaganda, promptly snapped up for various reasons by the foreign press, professors and politicians, has been gleefully circulated abroad as evidence of American barbarism. . . .

The high hopes that I had for the Committee have not been realized, and feeling that its aims are increasingly becoming more political than cultural, no worthwhile purpose can be served by my continued membership. I have enjoyed the personal associations, and for this reason I regret the necessity of this action.

New York City GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

Modern Art

Don't tell me that the extreme Liberal leftists have found the Achilles heel of the gallant NATIONAL REVIEW . . . in the field of Visual Arts. Why waste time or space [March 16], on reviewing a book by the Freudian-Marxist, Sir Herbert Read, protagonist of all the isms of lower case "modern art" so craftily promoted this side of the Iron Curtain to destroy our cultural heritage of Art? . . .

New York City WHEELER WILLIAMS

The Utah Election

The telegram from Major Edgar C. Bundy of the Abraham Lincoln National Republican Club [March 9] attributes the failure of J. Bracken Lee to get re-elected to the actions of third party partisans. . . . As far as I know, no third party was active in Utah at the time of Governor Lee's defeat. If there had been one working for the same purposes and principles as does the Constitution Party, Mr. Lee would probably have had its active support. . . .

If both parties persist in nominating internationalists as their national candidates, the Constitution Party will be in a position to give every citizen the opportunity to vote for a constitutionalist. I, for one, cannot see how an effort of this kind . . . can adversely affect . . . any Democrat or Republican candidate dedicated to preserving the Constitution.

Houston, Tex. A. B. STROZIER, JR.

Subpoenas Served Abroad

A statement in Sam Jones' "From Washington Straight" [March 16] concerning the case of Harry M. Blackmer, while literally true . . . tends to mislead. Of Blackmer and O'Neill, Jones says; "No subpoena-server cast his unwelcome shadow across their paths."

Blackmer was twice served in France with subpoenas commanding his presence as a witness for the United States in criminal proceedings. . . . On his failure to obey he was found (*in absentia*) guilty of contempt and a fine of thirty thousand was ordered and enforced out of property within the United States.

Boston, Mass. LT. CDR. CLINTON MAGUIRE

Mr. Bozell's Exposés

Congratulations on "bringing forth the face of the Party," so to speak, in the exposés of State Department diplomats ["National Trends," March 23, March 30]. We cannot get an overdose of that sort of thing, and maybe one day Rip Van Winkle public will begin to stir.

Chicago, Ill. RENA M. VALE

Standard Oil's Policy

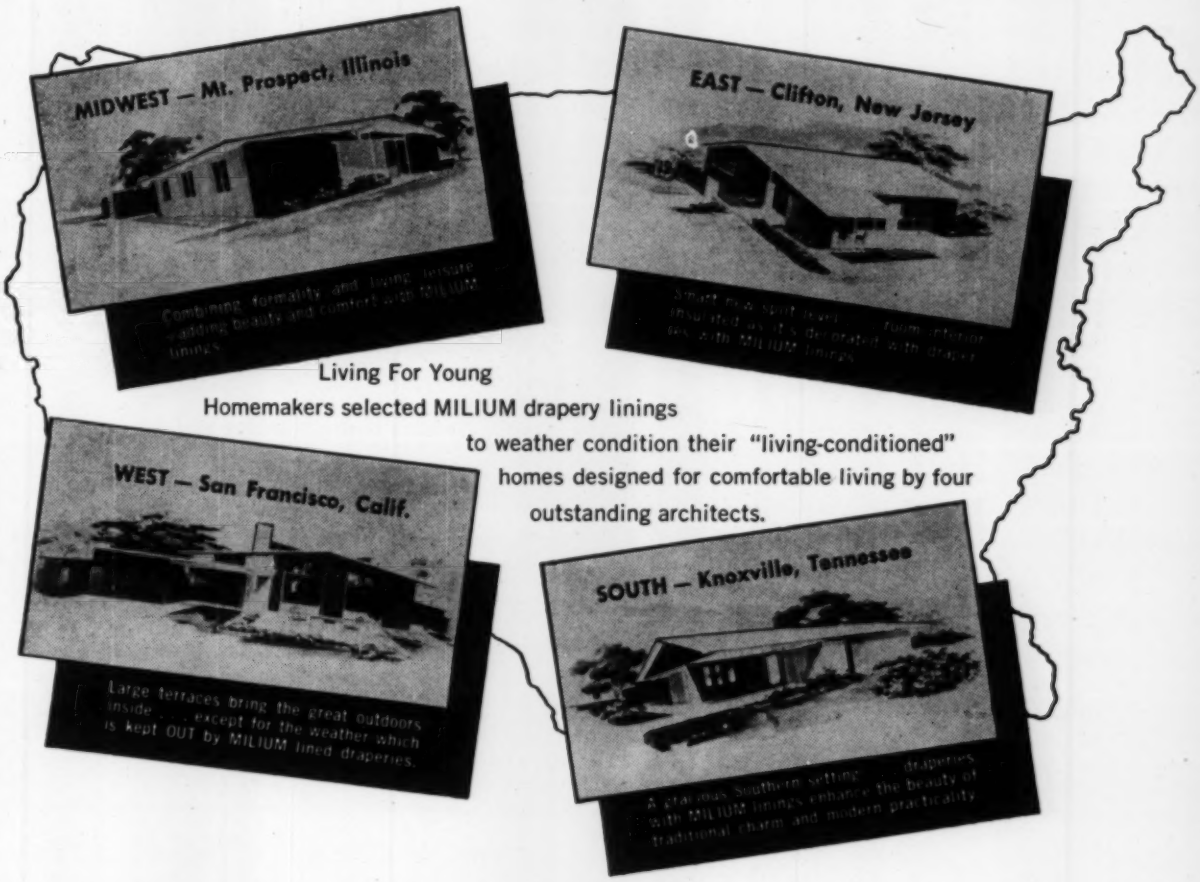
Mr. Peterson, in his review of *The Resurgent Years* [March 23] replies to Dean Hacker's criticism—that more of Standard Oil's sensational earnings should have gone out in wages—by saying that the oil shortage would today have been much worse, had it been so, and the consumer would merely pay back the money in higher prices. . . . Whatever the merits of Standard Oil's policy, I question the merits of this defense.

Grant the unlikely possibility that . . . the *same* men save later high costs by a sacrifice of their wage-rate, that all the money they might have been paid were repaid in the current cost of oil. At least the men would have *owned* the money, done unpredictable things like expanding it or losing it—exercised a right which prevents men from becoming the pawns of government or industrial planners. . . .

In short, the assumptions of Mr. Peterson support . . . the major contention of NATIONAL REVIEW—that the collectivist mind infects us in a thousand different ways, even when we attack it. . . . I know that those opposed to collectivism must often, today, defend big business in order to defend *business* itself, and free ownership. . . . But if we praise Standard Oil, let us not praise it for controlling prices and men, but for any power it may wield against the state's control of these.

St. Louis, Mo. REV. GARRY WILLS, S.J.

INSULATE while you DECORATE with MILIUM Insulated Drapery Linings



Living For Young Homemakers selected MILIUM drapery linings to weather condition their "living-conditioned" homes designed for comfortable living by four outstanding architects.

NORTH...SOUTH...EAST...WEST... whatever part of the country... whatever the weather... architects and homemakers agree that draperies with MILIUM insulated linings serve a great need for all weather comfort!

The use of MILIUM insulated drapery linings means:

BEAUTY... better draping qualities, reduced drapery fading
ECONOMY... save on fuel costs, increase the life of your draperies
COMFORT... keeps the heat where you want it
CONVENIENCE... no need for seasonal drapery changes
COLOR... available in wide range of colors

The United States Testing Co. certifies: **by test, MILIUM insulated drapery linings reduce room temperature loss in cold weather by about 50% . . . and reduce room temperature gain in warm weather by about 50%.**

Milium®

INSULATED LINING FOR ALL-WEATHER COMFORT

Look for Milium Insulated Fabrics in all types of apparel for the entire family and in many other products for your home.

MILIUM DIVISION, Deering, Milliken & Co., Inc., 1430 Broadway, New York 18, N. Y.

®MILIUM is the registered trade-mark of Deering, Milliken & Co., Inc. for metal-insulated fabrics and for its service of metal-insulating fabrics.